

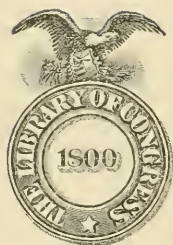
E

449

II 56

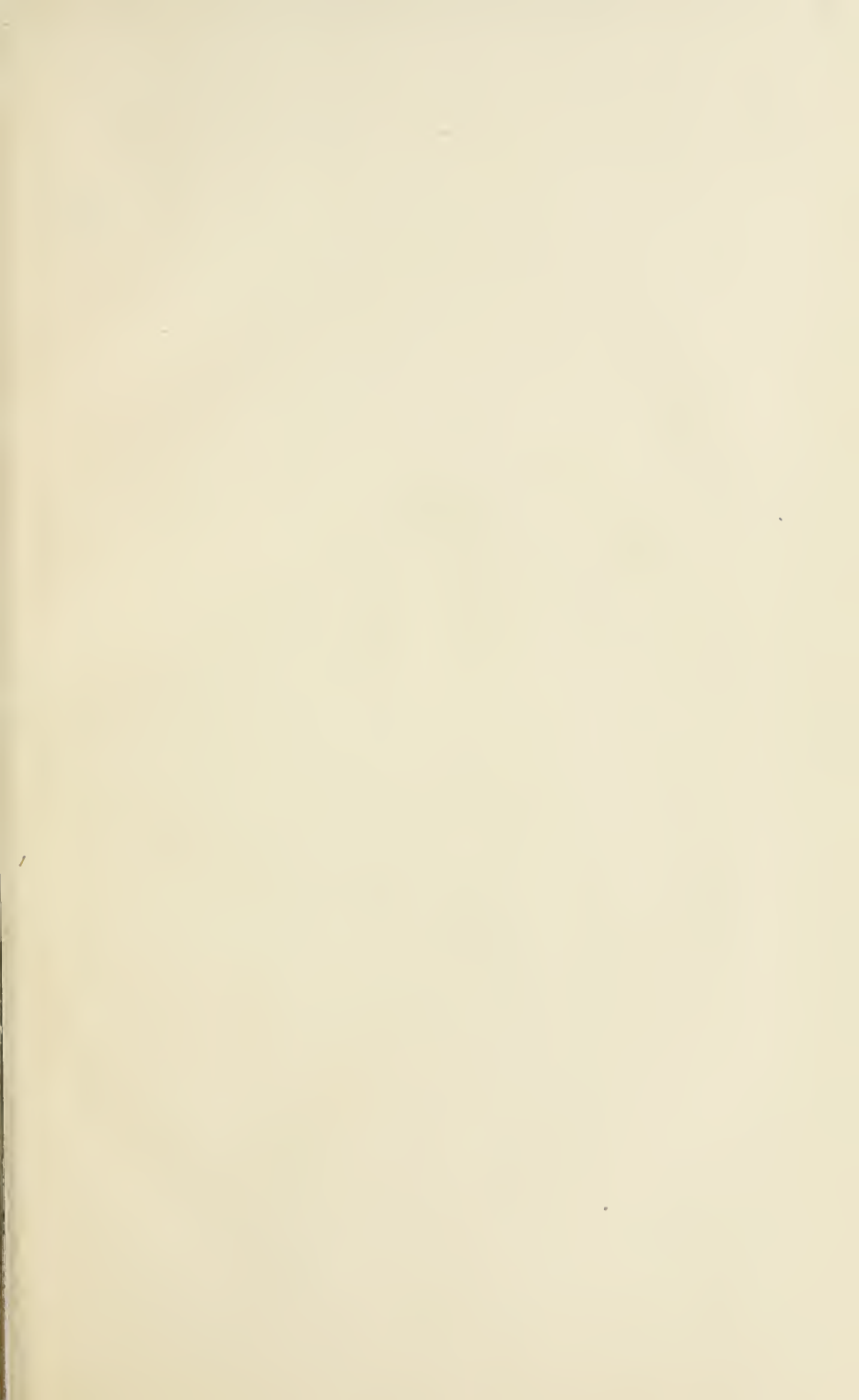
Dickson, S. Henry.

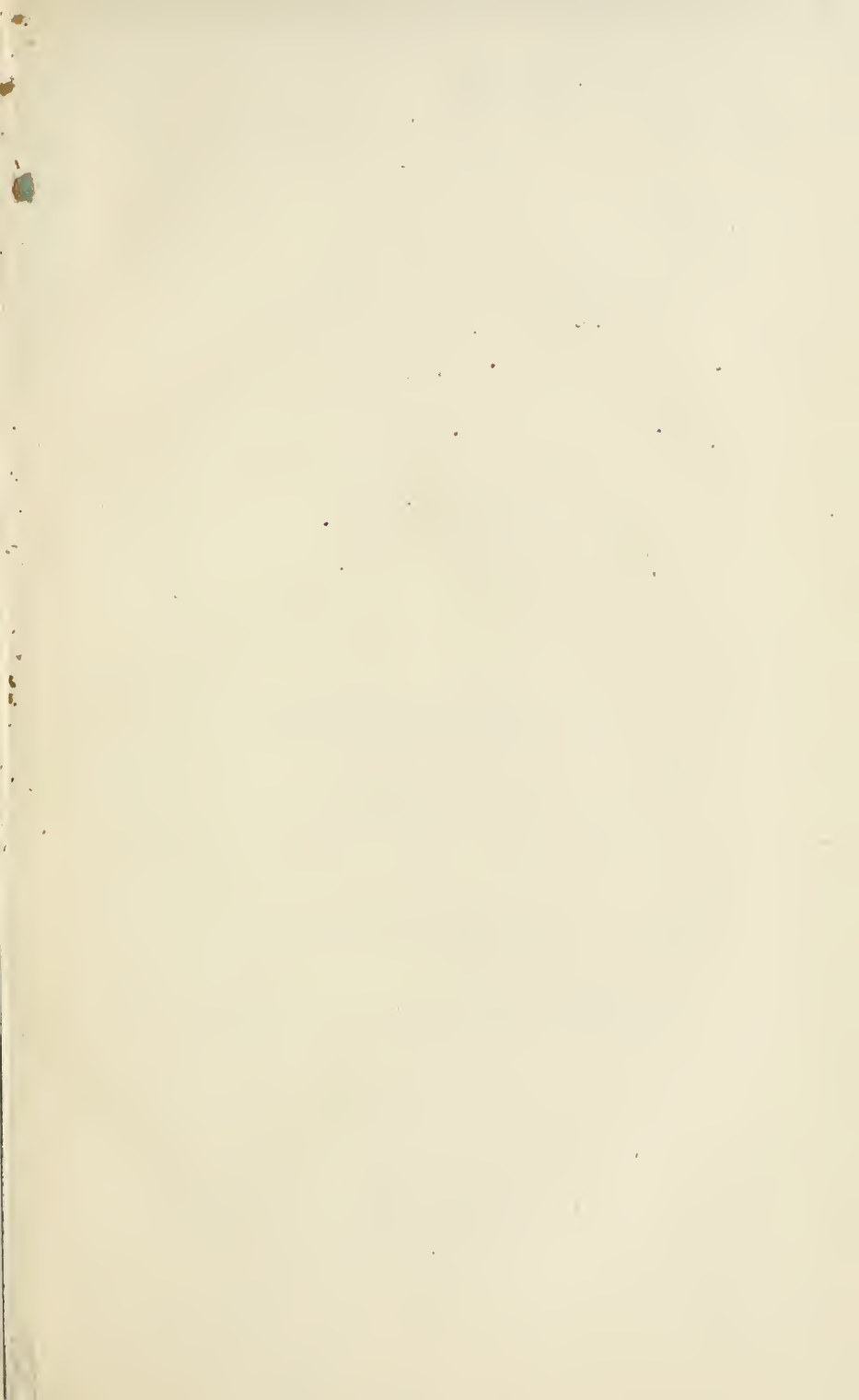
Remarks on certain topics
connected with Slavery.

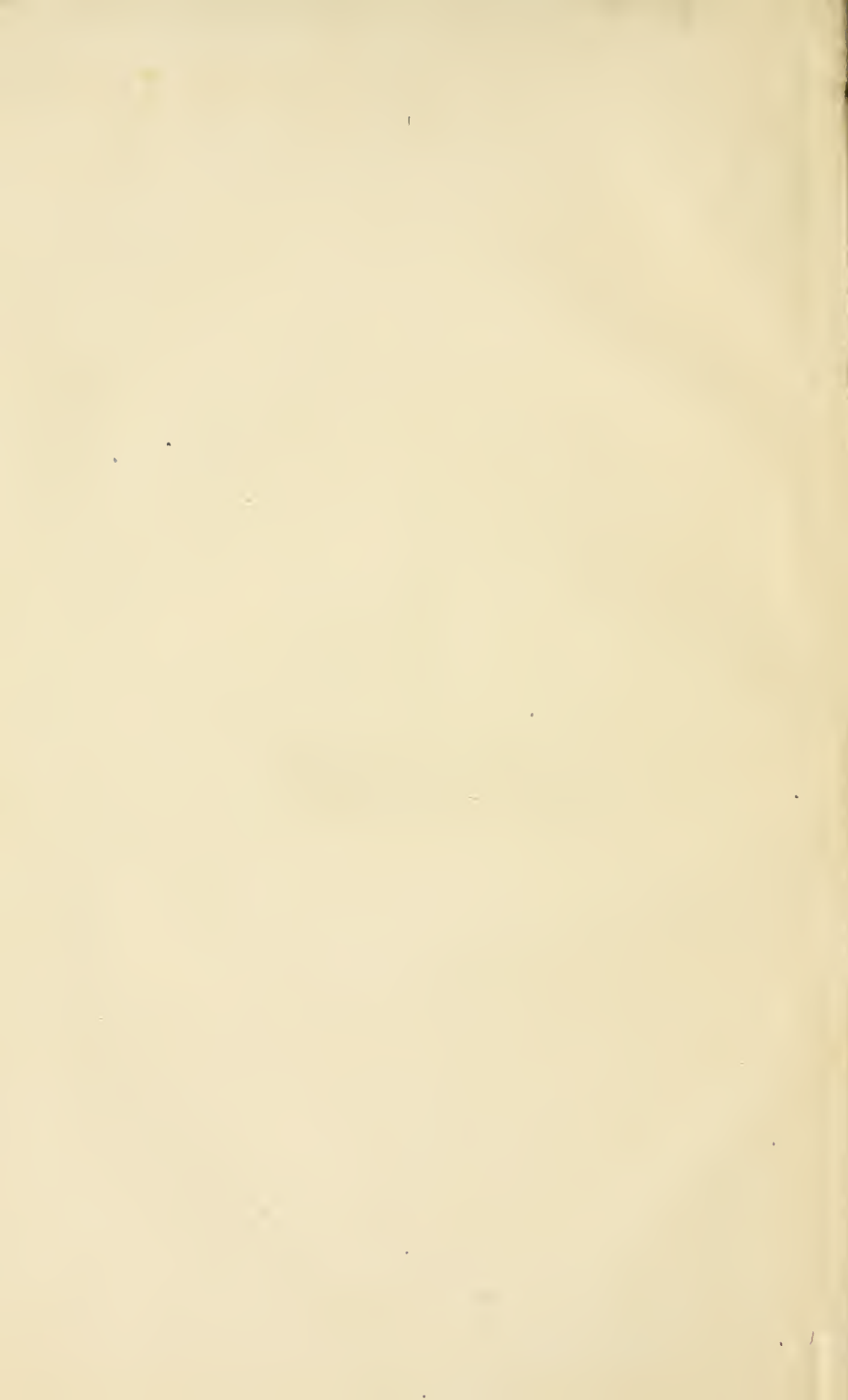


Class E 449

Book 1156







43
REMARKS ON CERTAIN TOPICS

254
717
CONNECTED WITH THE GENERAL SUBJECT

OF

SLAVERY:

BY

S. HENRY DICKSON, M. D.

ARTICLE I—Appeared in Southern Literary Messenger, May, 1844

ARTICLE II—Appeared in Christian Examiner, October, 1844—(See Introduction to Article II.)

RE-PRINTED AT THE REQUEST OF SEVERAL FRIENDS.

CHARLESTON:
OBSERVER OFFICE PRESS.

1845

E 449

. 1156

274007

11

9913 Nov 30

Article I.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

The following article was not written for publication, having been prepared only for a few friends who compose a Literary Club in Charleston, and the author has been prevented from even revising it for the press.— It will be seen that his views do not go so far as those of many other able writers in the South; but regarding Slavery as an existing institution, inwoven with the frame work of our social and political systems, the Messenger wishes to present the subject in every aspect. A few years since, as the author remarks, philanthropists in the South were busy with schemes for the amelioration of the condition of the slave. The late movements in the North, and elsewhere, have greatly checked these humane efforts. But this should not be so; for such evidences would strip our opponents of half their arguments. Though we can not concur with the writer in all his views, we heartily join with him in the liberal and enlightened sentiments which he expresses. Whilst we insist that the non-slaveholder has no right, politically or religiously, to interfere with the institution of Slavery among us, we do recognize our bounden duty to afford our dependents every means of moral and religious improvement. The author of the following review contends that our slaves should be taught to read and write. This is at present prohibited by law, and we are not prepared to say that the policy of the Law should be changed; but a vast improvement may be effected by oral instruction, and we rejoice to know that this is extended to them, in an increasing degree, in many of the slave-holding States. In the town of Augusta, Georgia, a short time since, we saw persons zealously engaged in a Sabbath School for slaves.

Were not our revilers and assailants culpably ignorant of the easy and comfortable lot of our slaves, of the humane feelings and sentiments of their masters towards them, and the efforts in progress for their improvement, which these, their pretended and misguided friends, do all in their power to repress and have greatly checked, they would be more just to us and more truly friendly to the negro. The following instance will illustrate their ignorance. We happened to be in Mount Vernon, Ohio, during the session of an Abolition Convention, and entered into conversation with

a man who seemed to be a sort of leader in the assemblage. Amongst other strange things, he asserted that the people of the slave states felt so insecure, that they slept with loaded arms under their heads and by their beds. We avowed that we lived in a slave State, denied the truth of the assertion, and maintained that if any feeling of fear did exist, it had been recently produced by the interference of abolition and fanaticism. We had for years slept securely without any defensive precaution; had then travelled several thousand miles in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, without any kind of weapon, and scarcely thought of arms until we got into the guard-mounted mail coaches of Ohio.

Seeing the importance attached to the question of Slavery in the Union, we shall use the influence of the Messenger to bring about a better understanding of the subject, hoping that more light will produce greater moderation and a more friendly spirit.—*Editor of Messenger.*

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

Being a Review of a Report made to the Minister, Secretary of State, of the Marine and the Colonies, by a Commission instituted for the examination of the questions relating to Slavery and the Political Constitution of the Colonies.—With two plans of Emancipation, by the Duc de Broglie and M. de Tocqueville.

BY SAMUEL HENRY DICKSON, M. D.

“Slavery,” says Judge Carleton, of Louisiana, “is a national evil which the Americans deeply deplore. It is against the spirit of their institutions, and must have an end.”

Mr. Black of Georgia, in his place in Congress, denies that slavery is, in any sense, an evil—and so I understand Mr. McDuffie, and several others of the champions of the South.

Somewhere between these extremes of opinion lies the truth.

I hold with Judge Carleton, that slavery is an evil—but not in the ordinary or common-place view of the matter.

Poverty is an evil; slavery, as it exists among us, is a permanent and hopeless state of poverty. Dependence is an

evil; and slavery is a condition of necessary dependence. Enforced labor is an evil; slavery implies a continued series of enforced labor.

But the Judge is entirely in the wrong when he affirms slavery to be inconsistent with the "spirit of our institutions."

If the slave were, in any sense, on a level with his master, or capable of attaining such equality, there would be some ground for his assertion; but he knows that this doctrine—though incorporated in the Declaration of Independence—is untrue, and is steadily and indignantly denounced.

The minor is denied all political and many civil rights, because he is thought to be unfit to enjoy or exercise them. It is perhaps, for the same reason, that they are withheld from women. I hold that they can never be accorded to the negro, precisely on that ground; that he *is not* and never can become adequate to their exercise, or fit for their enjoyment. Politically, then, he can never cease to be a slave, and his inferiority being stamped upon him by the hand of God himself, is a truth which cannot be inconsistent with any other truths. He is, politically, in no worse condition than a woman or a child; and this is not dreamed to be inconsistent with our institutions, except by a few ranters, such as Fanny Wright and Owen—unworthy of notice or of reply.

The social evils, acknowledged above to be a part of the description of slavery, deserve our fullest and conscientious attention. Do they belong necessarily to its essence—can it exist without them.—it being put an end to, will they cease? Will Freedom remedy them? To all these questions I answer, unhesitatingly, in the negative.

Labor—notwithstanding all the petty sentimentality with which it is spoken of in prose and poetry by the Childs, the Longfellows, and the Everetts,—Labor is a curse, and is every where felt to be so. But freemen work, at least white freemen, much harder than slaves. It is the price to be paid for improvement, for civilization. The savage works as little as possible—and to as little purpose as possible. The labor

of the free man is ennobled by its object—its motive;—that of the slave can never be elevated by its purpose or its results. This constitutes the only difference between them;—and to this view, the whole history of the negro every where shows him to be totally insensible. To him, therefore, there will be nothing gained by a freedom which condemns him to longer and more difficult taskwork.

Dependence is an evil surely—both in itself and in its results; but it is only felt to be an evil among equals. Conscientious inferiority seeks refuge in dependence, and the negro *has* everywhere and ~~has~~ at all times exhibited a profound consciousness of inferiority to the white man. The woman and the child are most happy in dependence.

Poverty is an evil. But if an agrarian division of comforts could take place all over the world, the Southern slave would be above the average point. He would not be so poor—so destitute of the means of living as the Red Indian, the dark Polynesian, Australian, and Fuegian, or his free black brother of Dahomy or Ashantee.

Let us examine the condition of the free masses in merry England, as represented by Judge Carleton in the very paper from which I extracted the sentence placed at the beginning of this rude sketch. As to dependence, the arable acres of that beautiful and happy land, on touching whose shores the shackles of the slave fall from his limbs, are owned by 33,000 persons:—25,970,000 being tenants of the fraction. As to poverty, the average wages of those who can get work are 8s. 6d. per week—their food, potatoes and salt—wretchedness, rags, and destitution, the lot of about 20,000,000, who suffer daily the pangs of unsatisfied hunger.

As to labor, the free Englishman often “begs in vain for leave to toil”—and there never was known to any tribe of slaves, ancient or modern, labor so demoralizing,* so degrading,† so destructive to life or health,‡ so ill paid, so ill requi-

* Woman's Work in the Collieries. † Minute division of labour.

‡ Dry grinding—28 years the maximum.

ted, as that which constitutes the every day business of thousands in the workshops and collieries of this seat and centre of civilization. Fatal, then, would be the boon of freedom to the slave, if it reduced him to the level of the hand-loom weaver—the dry-grinder, or the collier. But can nothing be done to ameliorate his condition? Much may be done: but I confess that I do not see the least reason for the anticipation of a period when slavery shall cease to exist among us. Its abolition, if desirable, which I have already presented some reasons for doubting, and shall show more as we proceed, is obviously impossible—and, as Judge C. has said of its existence, “inconsistent with our institutions.” Republicanism scarcely admits of the arrangement of distinction of castes otherwise than in the present form of master and slave. Equality—what is it? Nothing, unless it implies universal suffrage. It is uncertain how long it will allow of any distinctions at all—how long before democracy* will run into radicalism: radicalism into political socialism and agrarianism.

Lord Morpeth might safely sit at Exeter next on the platform to a black LL. D., applaud his eloquence and shake hands with him as a brother. The English Constitution secures him from the intrusion, political or social, of such kinsmen. But in South Carolina, when the black voters out-number, as by a law of nature they soon would do, their pale opponents, we should have a black governor—not to speak of other equally awful incidents. Imagine the question brought before the English nobility and gentry in the shape which it presented to their colonists—an alternative of life, and (far worse than death,) enforced and intimate admixture with an inferior and degraded race;—imagine the possibility of a *Hottentot Victoria*—a mulatto Peel, and a mustee Wellington! Human nature revolts at the thought; yet I have seen in a West India paper, edited by a fanatical white

* Not used in the party sense.

man,—a repentant sinner now I doubt not,—a paragraph exulting in the formation of a “tri-coloured jury.” With St. Domingo and the English West Indies before their eyes—and aware, as they frankly assert, of the evil results of the movement in both these cases, the French Government, urged by the madness of the times, is about to make a third experiment of the same nature.

A friend has loaned me a copy of “a Report, (printed March, 1843.) made to the Minister Secretary of State, of the Marine and the Colonies, by a Commission instituted for the examination of the questions relative to Slavery and the Political Constitution of the Colonies.”

The Committee, consisting of 15 members, have reported decidedly in favor of the abolition of slavery, and have presented two plans for the consideration of the government.—The one, whose author is understood to be the Duc de Broglie, contemplates the “simultaneous and general” emancipation of the slaves held in bondage in the French colonies, after an interval of ten years, the epoch being fixed in 1853. The second, from the pen of De Tocqueville, recommends an “emancipation partial and progressive,” to commence with the slave children born in 1838, and to include, gradually, various classes of the slave population until twenty years have elapsed, when slavery shall be absolutely abolished. The ten years interval of the first, and the twenty years progress of the latter project, are to be devoted to a preparation of the slave for his approaching elevation and a gradual adaptation of the colonies to the great social and political change thus destined to be made in their condition.

The Report is an able paper—deserving of a more minute analysis and review than I have had time to give it. I have read it with much attention and interest, and more astonishment at the singularly inconsistent admissions with which it abounds. It is full of important details; the subject is considered in all its relations. They seem fully aware of its difficulties, discuss them with much sagacity and ingenuity,

and have reasoned as impartially upon it as was perhaps possible to Europeans in 1842.

The great error which runs through all their speculations is the assumption, that the negro, as a slave, is a fallen creature, degraded from some high estate by the contingency of slavery. But what is the condition of the African negro in his native home? He is there a savage; and like all other savages,—J. J. Rousseau to the contrary notwithstanding,—in evil plight and full of misery. He is, ~~then~~ *there* and ever has been, in turn, a slave and a master. As a master, he is a ferocious tyrant;—as a slave, trodden to the dust. The horrors of the middle passage past, what does he lose by the change of residence which gives him a white despot instead of a black one. Or, suppose him as free as any other savage of Dahomy and Ashantee, and suddenly transported into a slave hut in Martinique, or a negro house on the banks of the Santee or the Savannah! I will not doubt that much misery is inflicted here, but it is not to be measured by the Anglo-Saxon or European standard. Our imaginations dwell upon the lot of the impressed British sailor in that floating hell, a receiving ship, or during his long captivity at sea and his frequent transfers from one man-of-war to another, until he sinks under the sickness of heart which arises from hope deferred;—or a Dartmoor—an Olmutz—or perhaps a Siberia forces itself into our thoughts. We will pity the unhappy negro:—

“Nor wife, nor children, more shall he behold,
Nor friends, nor sacred home!”

His home!—what is home to the Foulah, or the Mandingo? It is an Englishman’s castle,—the heaven of many of the Caucasian race,—it must be much to the Hottentot. The hare returns to die in her form,—the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air inhabit, with fond tenacity, the nest they have built. But his home in Africa was as insecure as the den of the wild beast he hunted;—there was no protection from the tyranny of the headman of his village, nor from the

incursions of the neighboring tribe always at war with him. His wife and children! What is the woman of the savage any where but a domestic drudge? Mungo Park, in that pathetic story of his sufferings, and the relief afforded by two kind negresses who took that pity on him which the gentler sex always delight to offer to the wretched, gives us the burden of the song which they sung, extempore, on the occasion, and which an English lady of high rank turned into pretty vernacular. I do not love her, or admire her verses the less, that she evidently misunderstood the meaning of the refrain which ran thus—

“ Let us pity the white man—
He has no mother to bring him milk,
No wife to grind his corn.”

The red man of the American wilds would have comprehended the privation better than the Duchess of Devonshire. Having killed his game, he sends his wife to bring it home,—the corn with which it is eaten being planted, hoed, gathered and ground, without his aid by her fair hands.

God hears even the young ravens when they cry; and man should turn a deaf ear to no moan or plaint which rises into the atmosphere. Wrong has been done to the negro by his enslavement—let the white man wash his hands from the bloody guilt. Violence, injury, and torture, attend his transfer as a slave from one hemisphere to the other. Let all nations unite to put an end to the fiend-like cruelties of the traffic. But I repeat, I know not what the negro,—speaking of the mass, and of the present race emphatically,—has lost by the change: and it is this fundamental error of the Committee which requires special remark. The black savage, as the slave of the white man, has undergone a process of civilization,—imperfect it is true,—but obviously and inevitably an improvement in condition,—physically, intellectually, and morally. He is taught something: be it more or less, it is clear gain,—he is fed, clothed, and provided for. “ Creature comforts,” as the Puritans called them. all unknown and un-

thought of by his dark ancestry, are his. He is no longer liable to be starved into cannibalism. He is, to be sure, forced to labor; but so he was in Africa, and so he will be, as we shall see, when he becomes what the Committee call, (not ironically,) a "free man." He enjoys a double protection,—that of law,—unheard of by his progenitors and unintelligible to himself, and that of his master's interest in him; not to mention that of public opinion everywhere and daily becoming, in regard to this topic, more humane and enlightened.

As the Committee have taken for granted that the negro enslaved, has become a degraded creature under the pressure of slavery, so they consistently enough assume that this pressure being once removed he will rise promptly, or in due time, to the level of his former condition, or to an equality with the white race. They have not ventured to be precise on this point. They do not discuss the question of the degree of his improbability.* To get rid of present evil they dare the dangers of the untried future. They testify to the lapse of the Haytien; more and more notorious and shocking. They pronounce the English experiment a failure, and yet do not appear to have dreamed of the possibility of a similar result to their own contemplated projects.† That the negro, when emancipated, will retrograde, whether in a French or

* They dwell, p. 309, upon the capricious dispositions of the negro—his unwillingness to labor as an agriculturalist whenever he has an alternative—his fondness for luxury and for gaming; yet they ascribe to him "providence and a promptness in learning to save money!"

† "In no country of the world," say the Committee, p. 319, "does man work more than is required to satisfy his necessities, (besoins,) his tastes, (gouts,) his desires." This may be true, for the desires of the civilized and educated man are illimitable—and of the poor man, crushed by the weight of circumstances, his few needs—though

"He wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long"—

are not to be supplied by the most unremitting labor of which his frame is capable. But what savage does as much work as is required to satisfy his necessities? Not the Negro, nor the Indian, nor the Arab. Improvidence is one of the characteristics of the inferior races—and hence so large a proportion of the miseries which, according to travellers—Catlin, Murray, Park, Jander, Olin—they are destined to endure and sink under

English Colony, is nevertheless certain. The black race is not civilizable *per se*, nor unless per force, sustained and controlled by their Caucasian superiors. On this theme let the Abolitionists ponder. They assert that the negro is capable of educating himself, or, at least, will get along with such aid from us as a free man will and ought to receive. They must support the burden of proof: let us examine the testimony adduced. Hayti has emancipated herself, and England emancipated her colonies. The contingencies were favorable in these cases, especially the last; let us gather the history of the events in both from the Committee.

In St. Domingo, the negroes,—caring as little for the distant future as the Committee, or J. Q. Adams, or Garrison, or Dr. Channing,—having made themselves free, of course took holiday, and it was found necessary to force them to work. The first regulations for this purpose were mild, and failed. The negroes did not understand or regard them, and said, “Commissaire Polverel (the author) li bete trop! li pas connai yen!”* Toussaint Louverture—the Hero of Miss Martineau’s “Hour and the Man,” Vainqueur des Anglais, as the Committee call him, Vainqueur des Mulâtres, as he is styled by one of his black panegyrists, “governed the colony very wisely, which, under him,” says Malenfant, “was flourishing. The whites were happy and tranquil on their estates and *the negroes worked*.” And well might they work! “His code,” say the Committee, “was infinitely more rigorous than that of Polverel;” King Stork for King Log. But even this code, rigorous as it was, soon became a disregarded and forgotten form. “Toussaint simply instructed his inspectors; and they acted accordingly,” (en consequence.)† These inspectors were his own nephew Moses—and Dessalines, “afterwards Emperor.” “These officers exercised over their subordinates an unlimited power—and all the declarations concur in representing the system established as the

most arbitrary and despotic possible. The *whip* was abolished; but they used without scruple the cudgel and the roots of those plants which they call in Hayti *lianes*, (supple-jacks?) The sabre and the musket were frequently employed.—nay, they went so far as to bury men alive!”

They give a story of a pregnant woman beaten so severely by order of Dessalines that “abortion took place on the spot.” The most inflexible “rigor was employed against laziness, (*paresse*.)” From General Pamphile La Croix, they quote as follows: “His two favorites,” Toussaint’s (Miss Martineau’s Man!) “were Moses and Dessalines. These two chiefs, naturally impetuous, were ill-humoured and of difficult access. General D., above all, conversed with a savage and repulsive air. It was rare that he did not distribute blows of the cudgel to the chiefs of gangs when he inspected the works of a plantation. If any of them threw the blame of defective culture upon the laziness of the hands generally, he had one of them selected by lot to be hung. But if they indicated one (*un cultivateur*) by name as a disputer or sluggard—*pour raisonneur, ou pour faineant*,—this cruel man in his rage, (*ses emportements*,) made them bury him alive and forced the whole gang to witness the agonies of his victim. One may conceive, that with such barbarous means *ten new citizens, pretendus libres*, should do as much work as *thirty slaves formerly*.”*

The Committee speak favorably of ~~Boyer's~~ “Rural Code for the Republic of Hayti,” in comparison with “*ces codes informes, et sanguinaires*, promulgated by Toussaint and by Christophe, and executed by Dessalines.† It was elaborated at leisure by a deliberative assembly composed exclusively of blacks and men of color. It makes two distinct classes,—*la classe industrielle et la classe agricole*. It forbids the latter to establish themselves in the towns or villages without express permission from the authorities; to bring up their

Boyer's

* Note 1, page 194

† Page 327.

children there without similar permission; to found new towns, villages, or 'bourgades,' by building their habitations in close proximity; to exercise any other profession than the culture of land, prohibiting especially boating and fishing; to open shops either wholesale or retail. Every laborer must be bound to some planter or proprietor; the engagement not to be for less than two years, nor to extend beyond nine. He must not quit his work unless by permission from his employer, and the permit must not exceed eight days. Failing to bind himself as above, he is arrested, taken before a justice of peace, sent to a maison d'arret, and then to the public works." This is the *freedom* they have gained and preserve! Nothing is said of any advance in education or morals,—or any progress in the useful or refined arts.

As to British emancipation, it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, that a French Committee should pronounce it a complete failure; "ce plan a completement echoue."* The total absorption of all the resources of the colonist proprietor in capital and interest,—in the payment of the freed black, favored as he was by the Governor,†—in the great contest going on then, as every where, between labor and capital, will, it is predicted,—and the documents bear out the prophecy,—produce, probably at no distant period, the absolute abandonment of the islands to the negroes "who, possessing neither capital nor credit, nor industry, will end by relapsing into barbarism." It is well known that Antigua and Barbadoes are exceptions to the seeming correctness of this dark picture. Antigua rejected the preliminary apprenticeship of the slaves, and emancipated them at once; and loud have been the praises of the sagacity and humanity of her people. Great stress is laid, too, upon her continued tranquility and prosperity, and the orderly and industrious conduct of her free blacks. But the Committee insinuate that the condition of things is not what it appears to be, and then go

* Page 141.

† Pages 292 and 293

on to offer an explanation of the apparent exception presented here. "The Island of Antigua is very small; all the arable land is under cultivation, and the blacks could not find low-priced lots to purchase."* The density of population is comparatively prodigious, being 339 to a square mile, while that of Jamaica is only 76.† The whole number of blacks is 30,000, (p. 156.) "Being forced to live then on the plantations, they were obliged to work for the planters, and thus a reasonable scale of wages was arranged." Every where else, (except at Barbadoes where the circumstances were similar,) the negroes, much fewer in number, in proportion to the surface of land, left the plantations, scattering themselves about, and especially fixing themselves for dissipation sake in the neighborhood of towns and villages. Hence wages became high and the amount of labor uncertain, and the plantations failed to pay their expenses. At Barbadoes and Antigua, the Committee say emphatically, the labor of the *free man*, under the weight of a *moral* necessity, is more productive than that of the slave under restraint."‡ This is a strange use of the word *moral*; by their own showing the necessity is *physical* in the most absolute sense. The negro has no alternative,—he must work or starve promptly: Nay, they establish his unwillingness by proof positive. "The documents of the time," they say, and give references to these documents, "inform us that the first movement,—*there as elsewhere*,—was to abandon work in the fields,—to precipitate themselves into the towns,—to encumber all the mechanical trades; they lounged (rodaient) about the fishing places and gathered crabs or other eatables, rather than procure their bread by honest industry. It was only after some time, and under the pressure of circumstances above stated, that they decided on returning to the plantations."§ Moral quotha!—From one of the documents referred to, they give in a note,|| the following extract. "Under slavery, doubtless, the man-

* Page 319. † Page 157. ‡ Page 319. § Page 158. || Page 159
Rapport de Capt. Layle

ners were far from being regular ; but the disgusting spectacle of vice never showed itself as now." The slaves were not under restraint. " No where in the colonies had I seen the streets covered with girls, or to speak more correctly, with children speculating upon the physical advantages which nature has given them. I saw this for the first time at Antigua, and I must avow that I saw it too upon a great scale." This is the chosen spot where "the number of ministers, of congregations of missionaries : the number of churches, of chapels, of schools, was very considerable. Religious instruction and education, properly so called, had received very great developements ; and, besides, the slave class had enjoyed, by the liberality of their masters, many of the privileges inherent in the condition of freemen. Consulted by the governor, the principal congregations declared loudly that, to their knowledge, the blacks were altogether in a condition to use well the advantages of liberty."*

I must not be understood to say that the Committee are altogether blind to the dangers of immediate disorder upon the removal of the restraints of slavery. Against many of these they have provided sagaciously—against others they have made no efficient provision. Although they remark that "the nature of men is not to be changed by the stroke of a wand," yet they calculate with unreasoning confidence, on the tendency of things to improve when they have removed the condition in which they imagine themselves to have detected the source of all the evils before their eyes. Freedom they hope will cure the vices of the slave. The negro they assume to be, in his native state, virtuous itself. Yet, with some inconsistency, they tell us that they anticipate some difficulty from the deficiency of religious cultivation of the slaves in the French West Indies. They tell us that religion is exceedingly neglected among the negroes. They give the proportion of 2,500 souls, or near it, to every Priest,—and

* Page 156.

these, they affirm, are not only less numerous than they should be, but have been by no means well selected or well fitted for the posts they occupy. They comment with some force upon the peculiar and valuable aid which the British Governor derived from the clergy and from their influence over the negroes.

In both the projets de loi presented, it will be seen that the negro,—during his preparation for what the Committee not ironically, call freedom, and after his emancipation,—is to be subjected to numerous and somewhat close restrictions; the wisdom of which I neither deny nor doubt. He is constrained to labor. The means of constraint are not detailed. The whip will of course be abolished as in Hayti,—it is too horrible to think of. Will they, too, substitute the milder *little* means of ~~late~~ roots, supple-jacks, clubs, sabres, muskets—burial alive?

Care is to be taken that the price of vacant lands shall be made too high to admit of the negro becoming a purchaser. He must engage himself with some planter, or proprietor, in order that his labor may be made continuously productive of the great West Indian staples—sugar and coffee. He must remain in the island where he is made free. The price of his labor—his wages—must be arranged for him. The manner of payment, in money or produce, will be dictated to him. His hours of labor are fixed by law. He must go to school and to church, according to law.

Projet de Loi of the Majority of the Committee.

EMANCIPATION GENERAL AND SIMULTANEOUS.

- Titre I.* A. 1. On the 1st January, 1853, slavery shall cease to exist in the French Colonies;
- A. 2. In the meantime the slaves remaining in their actual condition as now—1843—except the modification hereinafter laid down.
- A. 5. Slaves shall be capable of owning personal property, (des biens meubles.)

- A. 6. Which they may transmit by will or otherwise dispose of.
- A. 7. They cannot enter a suit at law but by a Curator ad hoc, (special trustee,) to be named for them by the Procureur du Roi.
- A. 4. Laws shall be made regarding the marriage of slaves—of whom
- A. 8. The husband shall control the property of the wife, (unless otherwise arranged in the marriage contract,) and that of their minor children.
- A. 12. They cannot possess as property, 1. ships or boats of any kind. 2. Gunpowder. 3. Fire arms.

Titre II. A. 16. Every freedman (affranchi) shall enjoy civil rights. His children born free shall enjoy civil and political rights—conformably to Law.

- A. 17. Every freedman shall bind himself during five years—for one or more years at a time, in the service of one or more planters in the colony.
- A. 19. His wages shall be regulated each year in maximum and minimum by order of the Governor in council.
- A. 20. Every freedman who cannot prove that he has diligently endeavored to engage himself as above, shall be arrested and conducted to a "disciplinary workshop or gang, (atelier de discipline,) where he shall work gratuitously, and if need be, be forced to work.—If he justifies himself, not finding an engagement, he shall be employed dans l'atelier du domaine.

(It is not stated *how* he shall be contraint au travail.)

- A. 25. Freed-children under fourteen shall be included in the engagements of their mothers. Orphans under fourteen shall be received into a public establishment.

Titre III. Provides for the indemnity to the colonists—150 millions of francs

- A. 27. being set apart to be divided among the colonies and the owners
- A. 28. of slaves therein according to certain "bases of distribution."

Projet de Loi of the Minority of the Committee.

EMANCIPATION—PARTIAL AND PROGRESSIVE.

- Titre I.* A. 1. From this date shall be freed and declared free: 1. Children born in the French Colonies of slave parents since January 1st, 1838, inclusive; 2. Children to be born henceforth in the said colonies.
- A. 2. They shall remain until their 16th year—full—attached to their mothers. In case of transfer or sale of their mothers, the new owner shall incur, in regard to them, all the duties of the former. In case of the enfranchisement of their mothers, the last owner shall still lie under the same obligations in regard to them.
- A. 3. After their 16th year the children shall be raised at the expense of the State.
- A. 4. Colonists dispossessed by the present law are allowed an indemnity of 500 francs for every child arriving at the age of seven years—to be paid in three months from the day on which it reaches seven years.
- A. 5. From seven to twenty-one years, every young freedman shall be engaged, (or hired,) by its mother's owner, if she be a slave—if free, by her last owner.
- A. 6. The conditions of this engagement hold good under reservation of the right of the government. 1. To see that the affranchi receives a religious and moral education; 2. To take him away at will to some public establishment.
- A. 7. The young engaged continues attached to his mother.
- A. 8. Freedmen, until 21, remain, as to their civil interests, under the supervision of the public minister, or a trustee, appointed by him.—When 21 they shall exercise all rights assured to Frenchmen by the Civil Code. Their children, born free, shall enjoy civil and political rights according to law.
- A. 9. As each freed child successively by virtue of the present law attains its majority, its mother, if living, and the father, if it is born in lawful wedlock, shall be freed

A. 10. by the State—paying the indemnity which shall be arranged by agreement, “de gre à gre.”

A. 11. The parents thus freed shall enjoy civil rights.

Titre II. A. 22. To each slave contracting marriage with a slave shall be allowed 100 francs, to be placed in a “savings’ bank,” (a la caisse d’épargne,) when it shall bear interest to their joint account. They cannot draw it without authority from the public minister.

A. 23. Every slave shall be allowed to purchase his freedom; if the

A. 24. price be disputed, it shall be referred to the judge royal, who shall appoint arbitrators—des experts.

A. 25. The Colonial governors shall fix annually the price of such ransom in maximum and minimum.

Titre III. A. 26. Every slave whose age or infirmities render him incapable of labor, shall be freed, and shall enjoy

A. 27. civil rights. His late owner shall continue to afford him lodging, food, clothing, and medical attendance when required—drawing

A. 28. a pension from the State which shall be arranged by agreement, (de gre à gre,)

A. 29. The mode of ascertaining incapacity for labor and of carrying into effect A. 27 shall be ordained by law.

Farther details are very much the same as in the plan of the majority.

I have taken occasion to declare my belief, that the abolition of slavery,—the emancipation of slaves,—is, in our own country, neither *possible* nor desirable. I have also said that I do not doubt that much may be done to ameliorate their condition: the time has come, I am persuaded, when it is both our interest and duty to make every effort for the purpose. The wheels of civilization cannot stand still, and the slave forms so large a portion of our community, that, unless we provide for his participation in its advance, our share in the benefits it is capable of bringing with it must be small indeed. Twenty years ago the attention of Southern philanthropists

was strongly drawn to this matter ; but they were driven back, alarmed, silenced, stunned by the ignorant and reckless interference of the noisy throng of fanatical abolitionists. The iron fetters which had not long fallen from the arms of the white European, had begun to hang loosely on the limbs of the American negro ; the thick clouds of ignorance which had not yet ceased to bedim the most enlightened portions of the free globe were beginning to break away above the slave masses and let in some shining gleams of knowledge, of religion, of morality. Their fetters were rivetted once more, and the deep darkness from which they were about to emerge, rendered doubly profound for a time, by the wicked intermeddling of those, who, like Lord Sydenham of recent but hateful memory, exulted in the prospect of a bloody insurrection and a hopeless and purposeless servile war.

But it is neither rational nor manly to allow ourselves to be influenced unduly by the fears thus excited. We cannot be deaf to the loud voice of public opinion resounding from every quarter of the world. We must listen to it, and reply—and act as justice and prudence shall dictate. Even China has been bombarded out of her vis inertie in commercial affairs ; but it is to be hoped that the Southern slaveholder will need no other inducement than his own sense of right and natural humanity to urge him forward in the great purpose of promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number of the human beings under his care and control. Let us first remove all the impediments which are placed by law in the way of the instruction of the slave. I do not know how far his education may be carried consistently with the proper performance of the duties of the station which Providence has assigned him in the social scale ; but I trust that in another generation a much larger proportion of the negro slaves of South Carolina may be found able to read their Bibles,* than now of

* Increasing attention is now given to the moral and religious improvement of slaves in the South. Though not taught to read their Bibles, much instruction is imparted to them, and the efforts of the various sects

the free whites of Mississippi. This is set down at one-fifteenth,—I know not how correctly,—in the late message of the Ex-Governor of that State.

Humanity next demands from us some restriction upon the traffic in slaves among ourselves. The wanton or capricious, resentful or penal sale of the negro,—the disruption of all ties of affection or consanguinity at the will of the thoughtless, unfeeling, or angry owner, should be put an end to. This might be well done, it seems to me, by the appointment in every district of respectable commissioners, themselves slaveholders, who should have jurisdiction over this matter, and who, in the performance of their duties, could readily give a powerful sanction to the invaluablely beneficent—nay, sacred institution of marriage.

There are few points on which Spain or Spaniards may be referred to as presenting any examples worthy of modern imitation. The Committee give a pleasant picture of slavery in the Spanish Colonies,—not exactly corresponding with Abbott's it is true, but on the whole, it is probable, not very far from a correct one. "The Spanish slave," they tell us,* "may become a proprietor; he may purchase his freedom—at a regulated rate and by little and little;—he may force his master, if mal-content, to sell him if he can find a purchaser, at a fair price, fixed by authority;—he may work when and where he pleases, provided he pays a definite amount of wages punctually." We are not surprised to learn,† "that during all the civil troubles, these slaves remained faithful to their owners and quiet. In South America, though the revolutionary party offered them their freedom, they followed the fortunes of their masters on the field of battle and in emigration. In St. Domingo, they remained perfectly

are directed more immediately towards them. Bishop Gadsden reported to the last Convention of South Carolina that he had, during the past year, confirmed 313 persons, of whom 151 were coloured, nearly one half. Other denominations annually receive probably a much larger number.

[*Editor of Messenger.*]

* Page 153.

† Pages 169, 171.

peaceable until conquered by the Republic of Hayti in 1820, (from 1794, a period of twenty-six years.)*

I would accord the slave the privilege of owning certain kinds of property and of purchasing his freedom under definite regulations. There is no danger in the removal of the present restraints as to this mode of individual emancipation. We shall always have a sufficient number of slaves here.—The negro is proverbially fertile, and he will always be so in a favorable climate and in the state of bondage. He is thus kept at that point,—above destitution and below luxury, or full living,—which, by a law of nature, is found best adapted for the propagation of the species and its rapid increase and multiplication.

I am not so clear as to his enjoyment of another privilege above mentioned—that of paying a certain rate of wages when discontented with personal servitude, or with the mode of occupation allotted him by his master. It is obvious that this would be inconsistent with the due management of a plantation, yet it might be introduced into the cities and answer a good purpose among town laborers, house servants and mechanics.

* Doctor Cartwright, of Natchez, in an able article in the Southern Quarterly Review, "Canaan identified with Ethiopia," adduces some remarkable examples of the fidelity of our slaves during the Revolution. Such as were seduced found their British allies more cruel than their masters could possibly have been. The Doctor argues very strongly to show that the *enlightened*--Sydenhamian scheme of exciting our slaves to rebellion, in case of war, is impracticable —*Editor of Messenger*

Article II.

The following article was sent to the Editors of the *Christian Examiner*, with a request that it should be published. They agreed to do so, provided they were allowed the usual editorial privilege of emendation, which would only be exercised in leaving out such portions as appeared unnecessarily harsh or severe. How very sensitively delicate our Northern brethren are upon this subject, will be well understood by observing that the "editorial privilege" of cutting out, extended to every word or sentence contained within [], (restored, as originally written, in the present copy.) The ** denote those sentences in which the change of a word or two occurred.

Gentlemen,—May I ask your insertion of a brief reply to the Letter of Dr. Wm. B. Carpenter, of Bristol, England—published in the July No. (1844,) of the *Christian Examiner*. [This distinguished Physiologist, who has attained a high reputation both at home and in America, has voluntarily entered a field in which he is little likely to gain any new laurels] His name, however, carries with it such weight that those of us who think him in error, and who have hitherto been silent on the [revolting] subject of which he treats, cannot help feeling that the incorrect statements to which he has given his endorsement, must not be left uncontradicted or his argument left unanswered.

I am glad to notice that Dr. C. avoids the discussion of the general subject of Slavery, "fully admitting that the question is a most difficult one, and that on his side of the water the number and extent of the difficulties which environ it are very imperfectly known." He comments upon an able article in a late number of the *Christian Examiner*, and objects to "a point comprised in one sentence of that paper—a"

follows—the coloured population is said to be scattered among us, and yet separated from us by impassable barriers, physical if not mental; refused intermarriage; refused intercourse as equals, &c.” Dr. C. endeavours to demonstrate that this statement is neither “scientifically nor historically true.”—“How is he (the negro) ever to rise?” exclaims the writer above quoted—well aware of the actual “difficulties which environ the topic;” these difficulties Dr. C. failing to appreciate, believes himself to have removed; and speaks lightly of the impediments, natural and artificial, original and conventional, which oppose themselves to the elevation of the black race.

In reply, I propose to maintain the doctrine laid down by your former correspondent, and to show that “these barriers are impassable;” [that they *will be*, until “the Ethiopian can change his skin, and the Leopard his spots;”] that the “coloured population” [ought to be and] *must* be “refused intercourse with us as equals;” and that they neither can “rise”—as a race—by such intercourse, nor should the attempt to raise them in this way, especially if it imply intermarriage, ever be made, [or even thought of,] by the races already elevated above them. I propose to show that it is “historically true” that “an impassable barrier” has always existed between the races—and that it is “scientifically true” that it exists now.

As an article of religious belief or inference, it is totally irrelevant to discuss here the question of the original unity of the human race, concerning which he refers to the works of Dr. Prichard. It would occupy a volume to follow up Dr. P., whose facts are a multitudinous mass of every shade and grade of authenticity, and whose reasonings are all of the nature of special pleading. He is an advocate, anxious, not to discover truth, but to maintain an opinion. [He tells us from Azara, that “in Paraguay oxen descended from the horned race are destitute of horns, and that *horses* are sometimes seen in the same country *bearing horns*.”] Prejudices,

sentiments, accidental events, constitute the data from which his conclusions are drawn; and any traveller who offers a favouring assertion is authority with him. "Climate and circumstances" give all the modifications of animal tribes, and account, as in the view of our own Stanhope Smith, for all variations and peculiarities. "External contingencies," flattening the foot of the negro, have left that of the red man finely arched; curling and shortening the African hair, they have smoothed and straitened that of the Hindoo in one hemisphere, and [prodigiously] lengthened in the other the capillary covering of the Crow and the Mandan.

Morton, of whom American science is justly proud, gives us the result of *his* profound, extensive, and cautious researches, in the following proposition: "The physical or organic characters which distinguish the several races of men, are as old as the oldest record of our species." As they exist not less obviously now than they did 4000 years ago, and as they have not been overcome, they form barriers in the truest sense impassable. Delineations of the negro, from 1700 to 2000 years, B. C., abound in the Egyptian monuments; their peculiarities being in every way strongly marked, and exactly the same as at the present day.

Dr. C.'s own admission on this subject of "marked differences," are abundantly sufficient. "Between a Guinea coast negro and an intelligent Englishman or American, the distinctions *do* appear definite enough." "The Caucasian races, as a whole, have vastly improved upon the original type,—the negro races have, taken as a whole, retrograded from it." In his "Physiology," he speaks very forcibly of the degradation of some of the tribes of Africa and New Holland, declaring that "to bring up to the level of the European would probably require centuries of civilization."* "Being asked by Dr. Tuckerman whether twelve black children taken from their parents at a year old, and brought up with twelve white children of the same age, would show an equality of mental

* Page 70, American edition.

power with the latter," he answered, "certainly not; but if the descendants of these black children were treated in the same manner for several generations, this equality would result."

Whatever, then, was "the original type" from which the negro has retrograded—Adam or Noah—as the Caucasian has "vastly improved upon it, the distance between them must be doubly vast. How are they to be again brought upon a level—how is "the negro to rise"—how is the impassable barrier to be passed!

If Prichard, and Stanhope Smith, and Dr. C. are right, and the negro has descended from a better station under the gradual and progressive pressure of adverse circumstances, these effects, even if the unfavorable contingencies be removed, will not cease at once, but must gradually subside and disappear, and it will take him a long time to regain "the level of the original type." Even then, according to Dr. C.'s own admission, he will be "vastly" below the Caucasian. In every fibre of his outward frame—in every faculty of his mental constitution, he bears the impress of 4000 years,—133 generations at least of progressive degradation—doubly "vast." How many generations—how many centuries will it take him to retrieve his lost ground? If unaided, he never will advance one step. [The tendency of the race has always been retrograde; to him "*facilis descensus*." The fact of his downward progress is undeniable and undenied.]—When we first meet with the negro—in the world's infancy—he is just what we find him now; conquered, subject; in servitude. All the elevation he has ever attained, has been procured at a heavy price of suffering and sorrow doubtless in most instances—from his contact with the white man; to whose claim of superiority and mastership he has yielded a ready and humble assent. Even this elevation affects the individual alone, never having spread to or included a tribe however small; a distinction totally unheeded by Dr. Carpenter, who would remove the 'impassable barrier' for indi-

viduals, by separating them from the race whose elevation he contemplates. The negro never generates civilization in any of its lowest forms; he never extends it to his compatriots; he never transmits it to his posterity. When released from the hard school of the white—like the Indian returning to his native forest from the halls of Yale or Harvard—he relapses promptly into barbarism; as we see in the individuals of the *Amistad*, and in the hordes of St. Domingo; and as *(with the same probability,)* we will soon see, in the freed “apprentices” of the British West Indies.

To avert this retrocession, he must cease to be a negro; and here is the obvious inconsistency of Dr. C.’s plan of amalgamation. He holds out to him, marriage with the white as “an improvement in his condition,” and he offers it to him as “a reward,” with the prospect of which he would excite his hope and ambition, and stimulate him to efforts at self-improvement and self-elevation. [Has Dr. C. a sister or daughter whom he would hold out as a prize with “*detur digniori*”—“*palnam qui meruit ferat*” written on her bright forehead—a sacrifice to philanthropy; a victim, surely, for if it be elevation to the negro, such a marriage must be degradation to her. Dr. C. has known, and I have known negroes to marry white women. That a poor and destitute Caucasian should thus ally herself to a black man, however revolting, is not strange nor unaccountable. The average condition of the negro in reference to physical comfort, is infinitely above that of the wretched white slave of the British manufactory, or worse still, of the coal mine, trained from infancy to push with her forehead a loaded wagon, or drag it behind her on all fours by a harness passed over her shoulders and between her thighs, along the dark and subterranean tunnel, gloomy with fetid dust and oppressive with the smoke of the dim lamp. Far is it too, above that of the million of surplus female population, which, finding no work, is destined to a resource more degraded and degrading than the hut of the savage of Van Dieman’s land. With these—and such as these, unhappy—let the negro

"amalgamate" or intermarry, and we will thank Providence if it give them even this foul alternative.]

But how will such connection elevate the black or "reward" him—that is Dr. C.'s word—for taking pains to cultivate his mind and develope his faculties? He is to be taught—and to be persuaded, to aspire. How high then shall we induce him to look up? Shall we indulge him with the hope of wedding into the family of some of the European aristocracy! Dr. C. does not hint at such an "impassability." But "*the daughter of an American merchant* may find the descendant of the despised negro, not unworthy of her attachment." He does not insult with his [disgusting] suggestion the proud officials of the English Government, who, like Sir Charles Metcalfe, looking from their lofty position on all beneath them as occupying a common level, forced the Colonels and Judges and Planters of the Colonies to associate on equal footing with their coloured fellow Colonists. No, nor any of the well born or well bred of the middle class of his own countrymen. "The daughter"—not of a British, but "of an American merchant"—is courteously selected; and she is to attach herself not "to the despised negro," but to "his descendant," who is to become "not unworthy of her attachment." He must improve then, it is admitted, upon the present "type;" to improve, he must be educated; and he must be educated by the white man; for his own race is very unskilful in teaching, however apt they may be in learning. When will he be fitted for the honor and reward of intermarriage with his teachers? In the present sentence Dr. C. says, it may be "in one or two ~~centuries~~;" he had previously told Dr. Tuckerman "several;" and in his standard *Physiology* he doubts whether as to some of our scholars it may not require "centuries."

In the experiment proposed by Dr. Tuckerman, the twelve black children starting from a lower natural platform than the twelve white, must, in order to reach them in any supposed length of time, improve *faster* than they. But they carry a

double weight, and attempt an impossibility. Dr. C. informs us, (Vide Phys. pp. 69, 70, Am. ed.) that acquired peculiarities as well as original constitution are transmitted, hereditarily, and that education creates "improvability" as well as confers improvement; therefore the twelve white children being of a "vastly" superior race by hereditary constitution, of greater hereditary "improvability," and equally well-taught, must go onward and upward faster than the black, and at the end of "several generations"—if impossibilities could undergo augmentation, the gulph of separation would be wider, and the "barrier" between the two races more "impassable" than it is now.

That the negro can be educated and will improve—under assiduous teaching—I do not doubt. [Even the Cretin is so far capable; and we are delighted to learn that the wretched Idiot of the Alps has at last become the subject of benevolent and successful culture. Let the name of Guggenbuhl*—though in itself unmelodious, yet henceforth pleasing to the ear both of God and men—be added in letters of gold to that bright catalogue which enrols a Howard, a Sicard, and a Howe.]

That the negro ought to be educated, I have maintained always and elsewhere † That he is educated—and would be educated better and faster, if it were not for the injudicious interference of volunteer pedagogues, eager to thrust into his hands dangerous and improper primers and picture books,—are facts that ought to be known to the wise and good every where. But it must be repeated until the real friends of the negro will hear and ponder it, that it is unreasonable to expect him ever to attain equality with a competitor not only "vastly" above him now, but vastly more capable of rising, and vastly more ambitious to rise than he; unless some means are applied to retard *our* pace, while *his* shall be accelerated.

* Vide Twining on Cretinism, and the Institution for its Cure at Interlachen.

† Vide Southern Literary Messenger, Richmond, May.

Anxious to cut this Gordian knot, and too impatient to wait for the preparatory education of "one, or two, or several generations," proposed by Dr. C. many suggest, some have urged, and even Dr. C. himself very inconsistently mentions, without disapproval, the alternative of immediate and unrestrained amalgamation by intermarriage. The result of this experiment, which wherever possible, has been abundantly tried, will undoubtedly be the deterioration at once of the better race, and the ultimate barbarism and destruction of both. [The blacks are as eager as Dr. C. can be for their elevation in the social scale by this means, and prefer, whenever attainable, white husbands and wives; but it is to be feared with very little appreciation of his views and purposes; neither estimating the alliance as a reward for their own individual improvement, nor with any contemplation of the advancement of their descendants. The "barriers are impassable"]—however, in this country, [thank Heaven!] "the distinctions of race do really appear definite enough" to keep them well and widely apart. Nor does the mulatto, (too often, as Dr. C. reminds us, met with among us,) serve in any degree to blend them or diminish their distinctness, but rather by his presence widens the breach. He is looked up to by the black—who knows and feels his superiority, mental and physical—with envy and hatred; he is looked down upon by the white with contempt and aversion. He is doubly despised; partly because of his ancestry, and partly because he is of course a bastard. He is not fated to maintain any where his doubtful and intermediate position. I believe with Dr. Nott that the mulatto is incapable of "keeping up his number," but must decay and disappear—rising by admixture with the white, or falling back again in the same way into the ranks of his dark progenitor. I have no doubt of his comparative infertility and the inferior average duration of his life. I know that Dr. Forry has combated these views with his unfailing ingenuity and extensive research,—but I am well persuaded that time will establish their truth.

Two or three grand experiments of amalgamation have been made, and a third is now going on, the result of which it may be well to wait for before we plunge into the perils of another. In the British West Indies the *dark race* is in the ascendant, and the recent immigration of poor European laborers will do no more than mingle their blood with that of the possessors of the soil before they fall victims to the pestilential climate. Thus will a mongrel race be produced there, whose [lofty] destinies, like those of their [ferocious] neighbours of Hayti, time will amply develope.

Mexico exhibits the [gratifying] results of this [grand] process of elevating the lower at the expense of the superior tribes. We are told that it is not easy to find a white under twenty years of unmixed descent—the only difficulty being to decide upon the proportion in each of the old Spaniard, the Morisco, the Indian, and the Negro. We would scarcely select the Mexican as a choice specimen of humanity. I think there is hardly white blood enough in the mass to save them from the universal retrocession to which the Moor, the Indian, and the Negro are doomed.

But it is in Egypt, and the neighboring nations of the East, that we shall best see the effects of amalgamation—interfusion of Negro with Caucasian, continued for ages. Open the valuable work of Morton, (*Crania Egyptiaca*, p. 58,) and read the correction of one of the innumerable errors of Prichard's *Mega Biblon*. Dr. P. maintains the descent of the modern Nubians from a negro nation of hill country of Kordofan, because it suits him to ascribe the diversities of organization to "climate and circumstances." Dr. M. reminds us that "while the Negroes flow into the country from one side, the migratory Arabs invade it on the other; thus furnishing inexhaustible materials for the blending of the two races." He adds from Caillaud a remark on "the shortness of life, disease and dissipation of these people," and quotes with approbation from another "sensible and instructive writer," the statement, that "the negro population is about one sixth

of the whole, and continually amalgamating with it. [While nature kindly endeavours to wash out the stain, every caravan from the south or west pours in a new supply of slaves and restores the blackening element."]

In regard to Egypt, the influx of negroes is estimated at 3000 a year—anciently by Arrian, recently by Madden—Morton calculates the number introduced within 3,500 years at more than 10,000,000. Clot Bey states the present negro population at 20,000 ; adding, that negresses form the greater number of women in every harem.

Thus we account at once for the degeneracy of the modern compared with the ancient Egyptian,—and for the progressive depopulation of that fertile and once densely peopled and highly civilized country. May God protect our posterity from the fate of Egypt, Mexico, and the West Indian Islands.

From the perusal and attentive consideration of Dr. C.'s letter we learn—1. That the negro is inferior—much inferior—to the white man ; " his race having retrograded from the ' original type,' while ours has *vastly* improved upon it."

2. That this inferiority is progressive in an augmenting ratio, because " acquired peculiarities are transmissible and transmitted by a law of nature as well as natural ones ;" and all that he acquired while retrograding must be adverse and degenerate.

3. That he is less improveable, or capable of education, than the white,—because this quality is always relevant to and essentially connected with his condition *

4. That under the most favorable contingencies,—when enjoying intercourse with, and aided and educated by the highest race of whites, he will require, *to reach their present level*, " one or two," or " several generations," or " some centuries."

* " From the intelligence of Man results his improveability : and his improved condition impresses itself upon his organization."—*Carpenter's Physiology*, p. 69, *American edition*.

5. Therefore, if the white man improve *at the same rate* with the black, the latter will never attain the equality contemplated; but this does not express more than a portion of the difficulty, for the white will and must improve *faster*.

6. Therefore, as "the barrier is impassable,"—as we cannot "level up" rapidly enough, we must "level down," and sacrifice the white man, retarding his improvement and advancement to aid the black in his aspirations after "social equality"—[a project worthy of Anacharsis Clootz.]

7. The only feasible mode of effecting this philanthropic purpose is amalgamation—the destruction of the two races by interfusion, and the creation of a third that shall approach the intermediate point occupied by the "original type," from which one retrograded while the other "vastly" improved. [The "West Indian steward" is to be encouraged to procure a wife among the perishing factory girls—or the wretched drudges of the coal mines—or the starving milliners of merry England: while "the daughter of the American merchant seeks and finds some descendant of a despised negro worthy of her attachment"—and deserving the reward of being "elevated in the social scale" by her fair hand.]

Messrs. Editors, is it possible that our Northern brethren—your readers—are prepared for this view of the subject? Can they read, have any of them read Dr. Carpenter's letter with approbation, [or even with patience?] I do not wonder at *his* calmness and [self-approving complacent] philosophical philanthropy. *He can as well understand our situation in regard to this matter, and as fairly appreciate our difficulties,* [as did the French Princess the necessities of her subjects, when told they were starving for want of bread.—"Why don't they eat cake then!" said the kind little creature.]

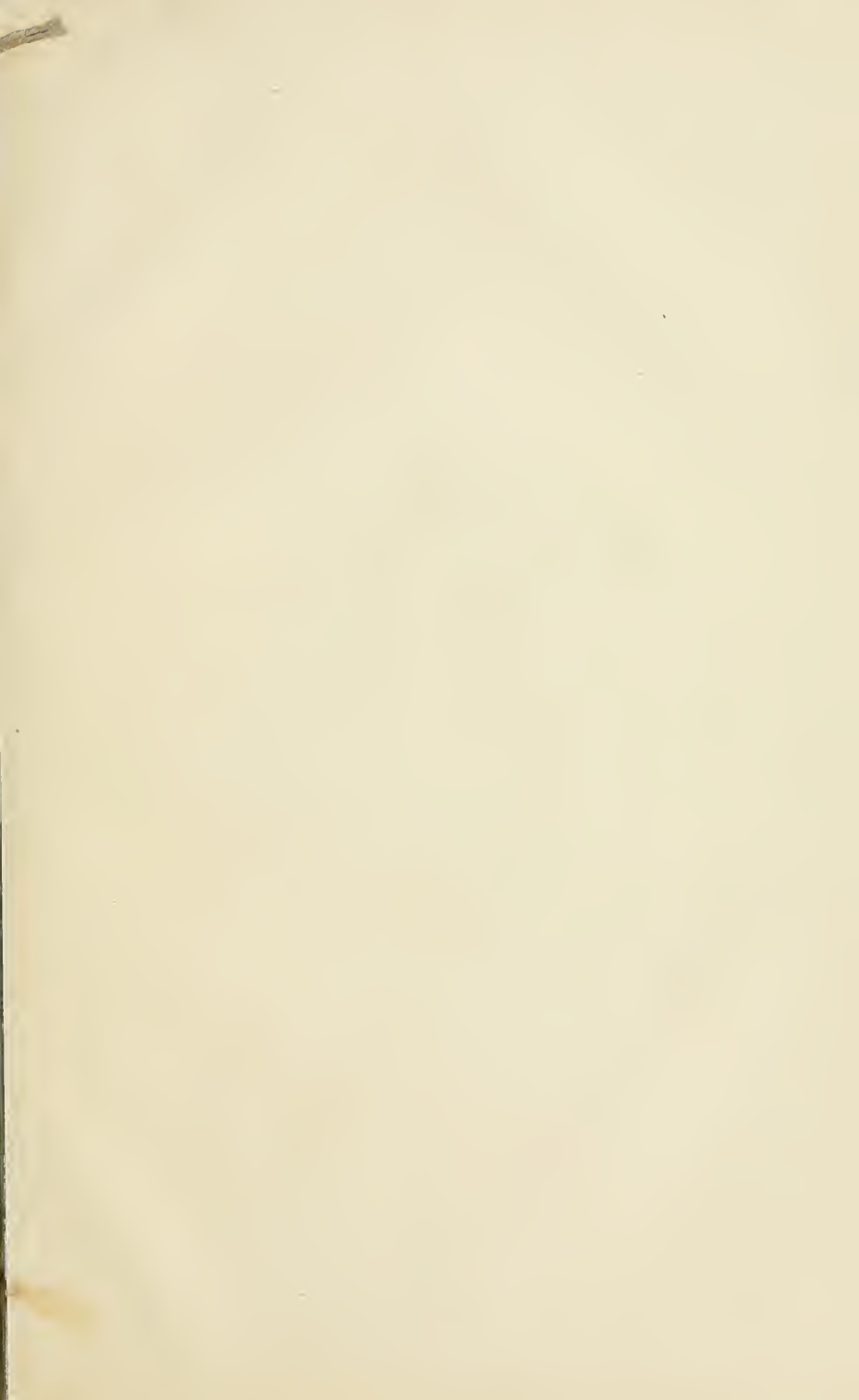
Here we are in South Carolina with near 300,000 of the black race; quiet, orderly, useful, gradually advancing in civilization, and meanwhile living as comfortably, we believe, as the labouring poor any where in the world. "Emancipate them! emancipate them!" exclaims the Abolitionist; and

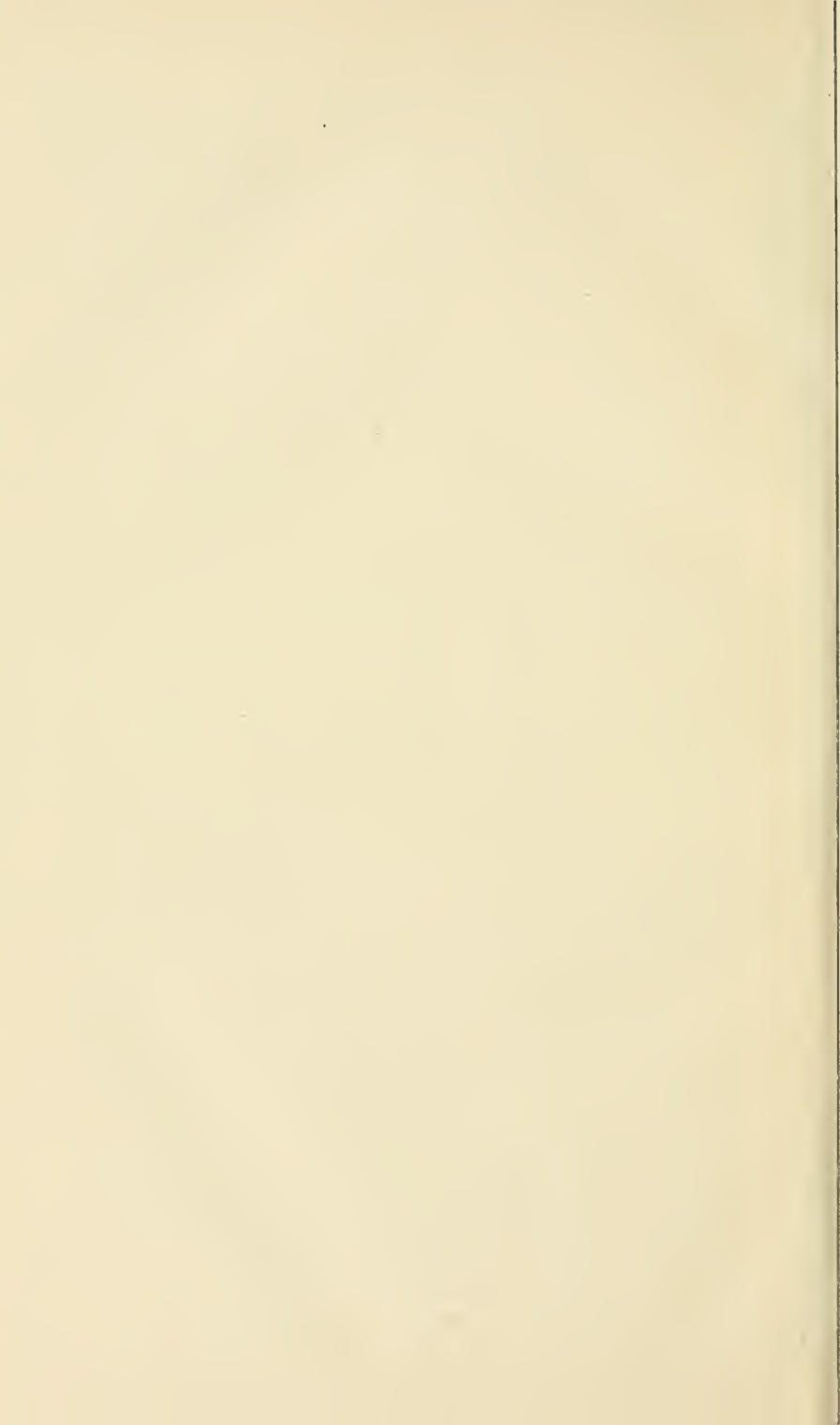
the outcry, beginning at our own border, resounds across the Atlantic, and echoes from the Alps of the old world and the Alleghanies and Andes of the new. Impossible—we reply. We cannot yield to them our homes and our country. We cannot remain as equal co-occupants of the soil; they are in many senses,—physical and moral,—after all their enforced elevation in the social scale—an inferior race; not yet civilized enough nor sufficiently educated to be safe fellow-citizens in a Republic without a standing army. They retain yet too much of the “original constitution,” and too many of the “acquired peculiarities” of their African ancestry. [Among the most remarkable and tenacious of these is the universal habit of preferring rest to labour, and plunder to industry. With their Congeners, to be free is ever to be idle: and the experience both of Hayti and Jamaica shows the failure of education to produce, thus far, any change in the nature or propensities of the race. If we yield the power of compelling them to work we shall all starve together.]

Well then, says Dr. Carpenter, marry them—and elevate them in the social scale. Surely “if this be held out to them as a reward, it will speedily be attained.” No case has ever been imagined in which the Hibernian idea was so completely realized of “the reciprocity being all on one side.” We are to teach them at an infinite expense of toil and time, and then we are to reward them for being taught,—in the meanwhile neglecting our own education, and descending half way to their inferior level. Against this “lame and impotent conclusion” we enter our indignant protest, and declare before heaven and our unreasonable brethren of mankind, that there is no conceivable alternative which we would not prefer,—[and indeed that as a race and a people we will rather die a thousand deaths than consent to this mode of solving the difficulties of our position.]

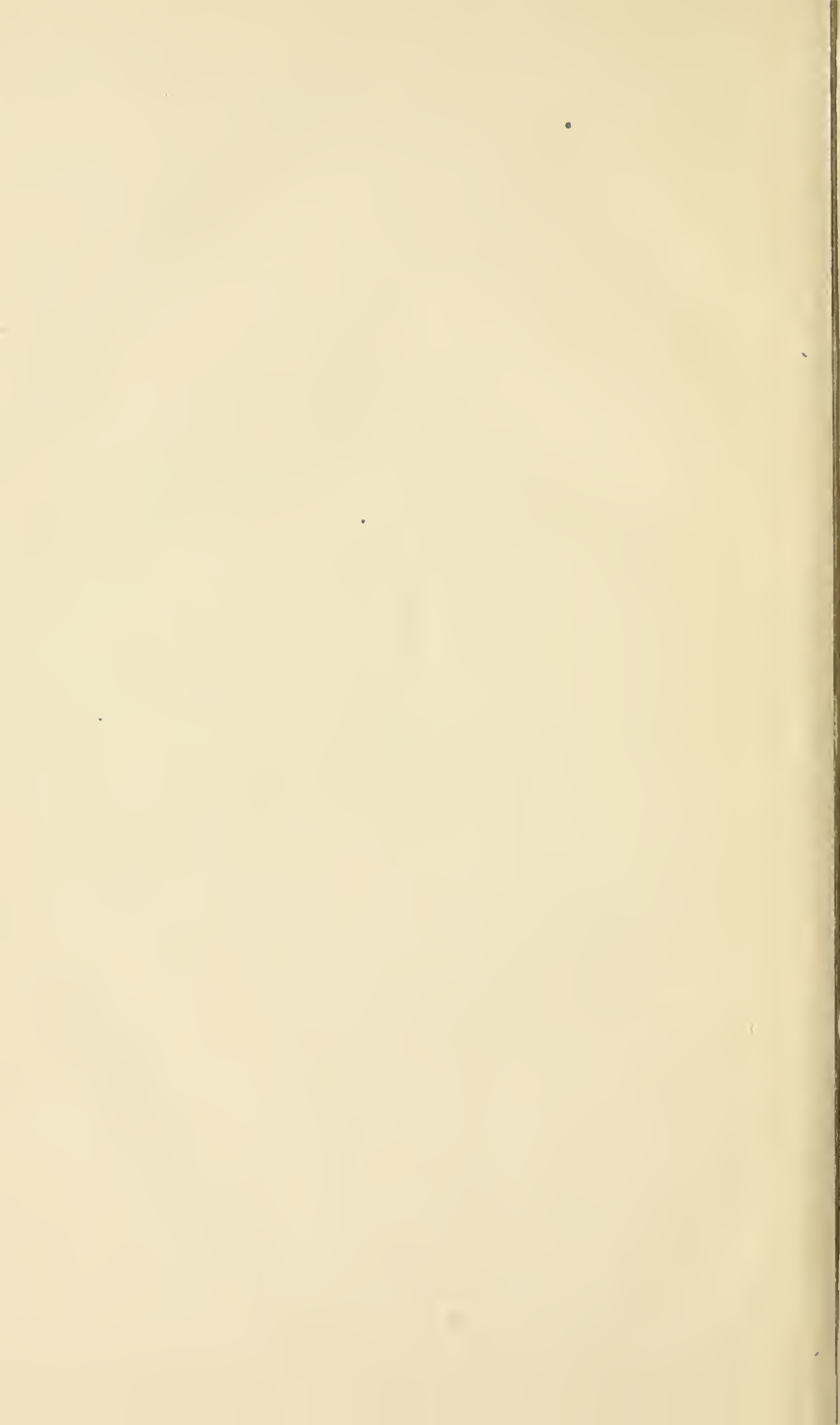
SAMUEL HENRY DICKSON, M. D.

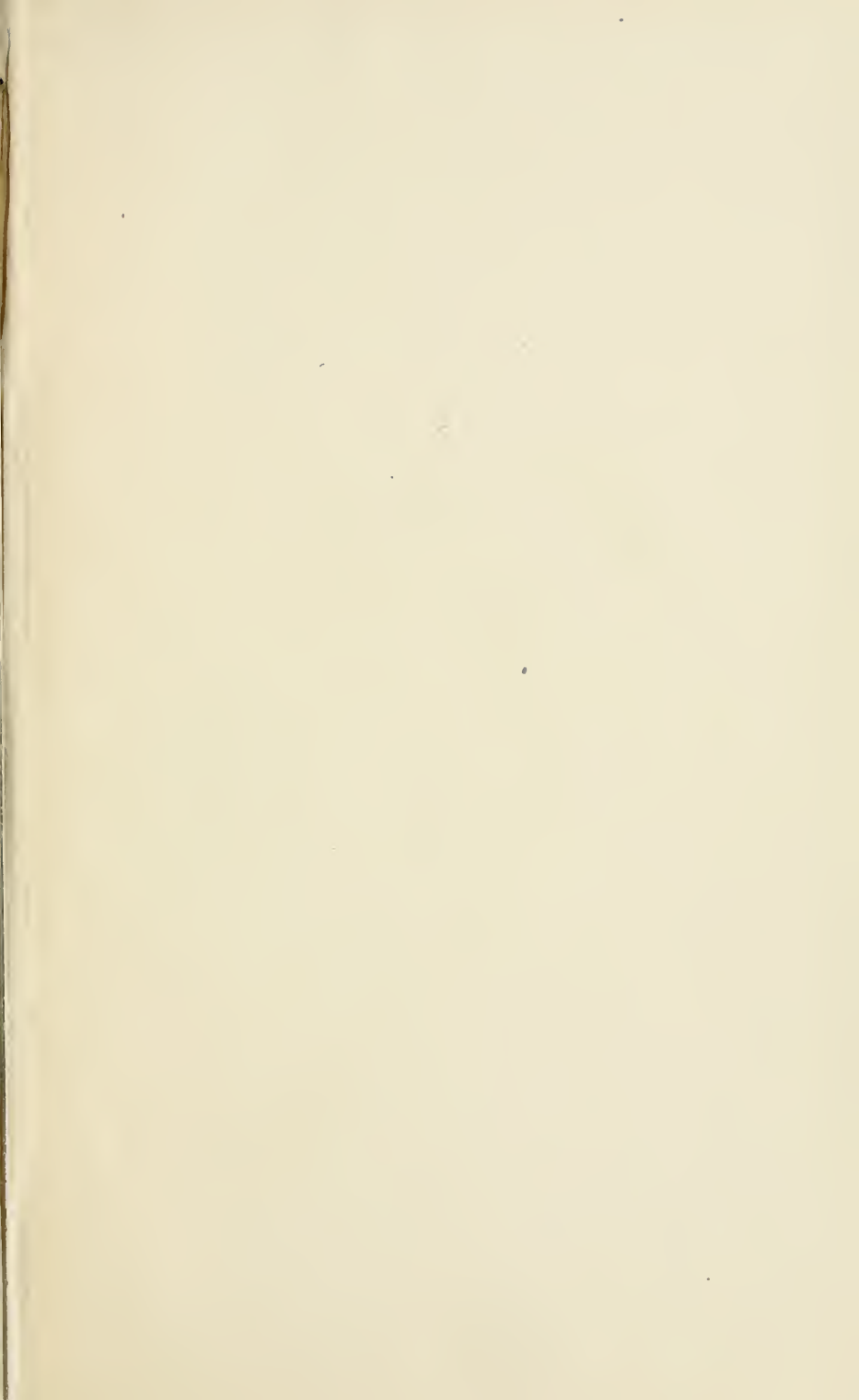
Charleston, S. C., August, 1844.











LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 011 932 697 7

